Volume 33 Number 2

Bulletin of
Friends Historical Association

MEMORIAL FOR THOMAS K. BROWN, JR.

THE PENINGTON-PENN BIBLE

MRS. FRICK'S

PENN'S HISTORICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

JUST AMONG FRIENDS—IN 1806. PART II

1944

Autumn Number

FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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OF RELIGION

THOMAS KITE BROWN, JR.
1885 — 1944

Volume 33, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1944

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Until the appointment of a new Editor, communications on editorial matters should be addressed to the Secretary.

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Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Secretary. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Secretary.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 33, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1944

Bulletin of
Friends Historical Association

THOMAS KITE BROWN, JR.

THOMAS KITE BROWN, JR., died suddenly of a heart attack in Philadelphia on June 5, 1944. He had been Editor of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION since the Spring Number of 1933, and his scholarly work in this capacity was greatly appreciated and will be long remembered by the members of the Association.

He was the son of Thomas Kite Brown and Caroline Cadbury, and was born at Westtown, Pennsylvania, on March 19, 1885. His father was the well-loved teacher and principal at Westtown School, familiarly known to hundreds of pupils as "Master Thomas." The younger Thomas attended Westtown School but later went to the William Penn Charter School, from which he was graduated in 1902. He was in the class of 1906 at Haverford, and while in college was elected to membership in the Founders Club and the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He was Captain of the gymnasium team and was on the varsity football team. After graduating from Haverford College, Thomas Brown continued his studies with graduate work in Berlin, at the University of Pennsylvania, and at Harvard University, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1920. He was Instructor and Assistant Professor of German at Haverford College, 1907-1919, and Assistant Professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania from 1928 until the time of his death. In the intervening years, he studied with the Bureau of Personnel Administration, New York City, was Executive Director of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, also in New York City, and served as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Passaic, New Jersey.

Dr. Brown was Editor of the *Winston Simplified Dictionary* (Advanced Edition, 1926, and other editions for Schools and

Young People), the Winston *Secretary's Desk Book*, and the *Executive's Desk Book*. He was a member of the Social Order Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and edited for the Committee, *Adult Education for Social Change* (1935). He translated from the German a book by Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, published by The Macmillan Company in 1931.

Besides his membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Association of Philadelphia, Thomas Brown belonged to the Cum Laude Society of the William Penn Charter School, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Modern Language Association, the Linguistic Society of America, the American Dialect Society, and the American Association of University Professors.

Thomas Brown presided over the Race Street Forum (1933-1939) with tact, firmness, and good humor, and his regular presence did much to make those discussions the rewarding occasions that many found them to be, despite the wide range, not to say incompatibility, of the points of view presented and vigorously expressed.

With his father and brothers and sisters, he helped to establish and manage Back Log Camp in the Adirondack Mountains, and visitors there will recall with pleasure his leadership of the longer hikes and his enthusiastic participation in all the activities of the camp.

Thomas K. Brown was a birthright Friend and a member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for the Western District, but in 1907 he transferred his membership to Haverford Monthly Meeting, Haverford, Pennsylvania. In 1915, he married Helen Wheeler Barnes, of Norristown, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Brown survives him, with their two sons, Thomas Kite Brown, 3d, and Arthur Ellis Brown, and a brother, Carroll T. Brown, of Westtown, and two sisters, Bertha Brown Lambert, of Takoma Park, D. C., and Lydia C. Cadbury, of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

MEMORIAL MINUTE

IT IS with a sense of deep personal loss that the Board of Directors wishes to preserve among the records of the Association an expression of appreciation for the services of our fellow member and Editor, Thomas Kite Brown, Jr., who died suddenly in Philadelphia on Sixth Month 5, 1944. He had served as Editor of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION since the Spring Number of 1933, and had acted in this capacity with unusual competence and good judgment. Personally known to many of our members, his work has been enjoyed by a still larger number who had read his book reviews in the BULLETIN, and who have appreciated the scholarly devotion he brought to his task as Editor. He was most faithful in his attendance at all of our meetings, and successful in securing many new members for the Association. Therefore, the Directors and members of Friends Historical Association adopt this minute in grateful remembrance of their friend and Editor, and direct that a copy of it be sent to his family.—Tenth Month 13, 1944.

SUMMER MEETING
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ONE HUNDRED and fifty members and guests of Friends Historical Association assembled for their summer meeting in the barn at John Bartram's Garden in Philadelphia on the afternoon of May 10th. After welcoming remarks by Mrs. Bayard Henry, President of the John Bartram Association, Dr. Francis Harper gave a lecture of unusual interest on "John Bartram's Southern Travels." Dr. Harper had retraveled the trail John Bartram followed in 1765 from Charleston through Georgia to St. Augustine, Florida, and then on the St. John's River for almost four hundred miles. He was able to locate the route through Bartram's writings and with the aid of the present inhabitants of the places through which the great naturalist had passed. The lecture was accompanied by colored slides showing some of the trees and plants described by Bartram and points of particular interest and beauty along the trail.

Edward E. Wildman spoke briefly about the Bartram Garden, calling especial attention to the yellowwood, which was in full bloom. (The tree blossoms only once in three years.) He also told about Bartram's family life and his Unitarian religious belief for which he was disowned by the Society of Friends. He was a deeply religious person, and continued to attend Friends Meeting even after his disownment.

A student from the John Bartram High School read a poem recalling the important but unsung contribution of John Bartram's wife, who carried the responsibility of twelve children and a farm during her husband's extensive travels.

After the meeting, students from the high school showed guests through the house and garden, and many who had brought box suppers lingered to enjoy the beauty of the garden.

E. VIRGINIA WALKER [1]

INDEPENDENCE HALL EXHIBIT OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Friends Historical Association's exhibit of Quaker relics and treasures in the Old City Hall, 5th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, has been moved to a first-floor room, at the left of the entrance door. It will now be possible for visitors to inspect this exhibit at all times when the building itself is open.

This number of the BULLETIN has been prepared for the press by Mrs. Thomas K. Brown, Jr., with the assistance of the President, the Secretary, and the Publication Committee of the Association.

A KIND of debate has been going on in the current volume of *The Journal of Religion* (vol. 24, 1944), about the beginnings of Quakerism. Winthrop S. Hudson, writing on "A Suppressed Chapter of Quaker History" (pp. 108-18), claims that Fox was not the real founder of the movement and that he was later exalted to that role by Quaker historians and editors. Henry J. Cadbury, writing on "An Obscure Chapter of Quaker History" (pp. 201-13), attempts by answering the argument point by point to vindicate the traditional pre-eminence assigned to Fox. Dr. Hudson replies (pp. 279-81), briefly reasserting his contentions.

[1] Reprinted from *Friends Intelligencer*, June 10, 1944, p. 384.

THE PENINGTON-PENN BIBLE, PRAYER BOOK, AND PSALTER

Notes on the Rare Volume Now in Possession of The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia

By Carroll Frey

THE PENINGTON-PENN copy of the Latin Bible is in the format of a volume in which are bound three books—a Latin Bible printed in London in 1618; an English Book of Common Prayer printed in London in 1626 by "Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, printers to the King's Most Excellent Maiestie"; and "The Whole Book of Psalmes: collected into English meeter by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, Printed for the Companie of Stationers," London 1626.

The cover reproduced in our illustration is the original morocco binding done for Isaac Penington in 1630. The bound volume existed fourteen years before the birth of William Penn, the Bible section having been printed three years before the birth of Admiral Sir William Penn.

The evidence for William Penn's ownership is in his signature dated "169½" on the title page of the Bible, and in his bookplate inside the front cover. William Penn not only could read Latin, he could write it. One of his earliest publishings was of his own poems done in Latin. The Peningtons also were proficient in Latin, the man who tutored the younger Penington family having studied Latin under the blind poet, John Milton. He was Thomas Ellwood, at one time a suitor for the hand of Gulielma Springett who later married William Penn.

Isaac Penington's ownership is authenticated in the almost hidden hand-lettered inscription, "I Penington 1630," along with the hand-lettered initials "I P" on the title page of the Prayer Book at the front of the volume. The letters "I P" are also in gold stamped on the front and back of the binding.

Now, which Isaac Penington? For just as William Penn, the Friend, was the son of a William Penn, so Isaac Penington, the Friend, was the son of an Isaac Penington. The evidence indicates that the original owner of the volume was the elder Isaac Penington. In 1630 his son Isaac Penington was fourteen years

old and probably called himself *Isaac Penington, junr*, just as Penn for years called himself *William Penn, junr*, or *William Penn the Younger*. Furthermore, in the back of the volume there is an unsigned holograph prayer which, by comparison with an original signed letter, appears to be in the handwriting of Penington, the father.

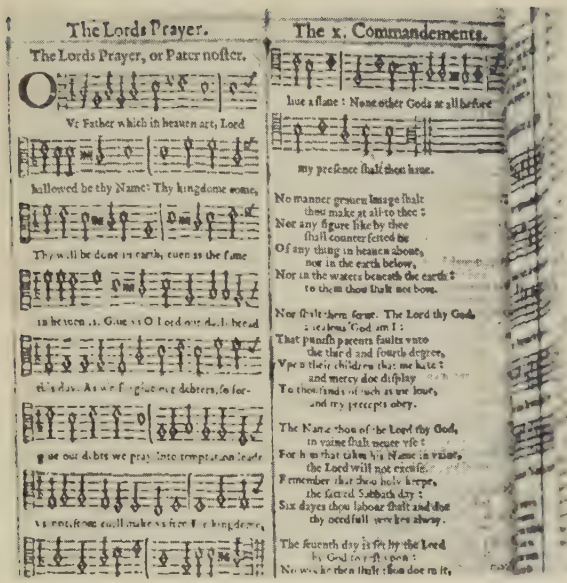
The elder Isaac Penington, step-grandfather-in-law of William Penn, the Friend, is seldom mentioned in books on Penn, but he was a considerable person in his own right. He was sometimes referred to as Alderman Penington. Some accounts say that he was knighted, but reference to him as Sir Isaac are rare. In 1638 he was High Sheriff of London; in 1640 he was a member of Parliament for London; in 1642 Lord Mayor of London; later he was Lieutenant of the Tower. He was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners of the High Court of Justice for the trial of Charles I, and, in 1649, member of the Council of State. At the time of the Restoration he gave himself up to the mercy of King Charles II, and was one of the fourteen regicides stripped of their estates and committed to the Tower of London. He was there incarcerated in 1660 and 1661 and died under duress in the very prison he had once commanded.

According to Maria Webb's book, *The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century* (p. 90), an item in the state papers of December 19, 1661, reads:

> Warrant to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the corpse of Isaac Penington who died in prison there to his relations.

It is inevitable that we should wonder if this volume of Bible, Prayer Book, and Psalter was with him in the Tower at the time of his imprisonment there. The book could certainly be regarded as an association item when mentioning the Tower of London, for William Penn in his time came to be imprisoned in the Tower, as his father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had been.

The Tower of London is not a dungeon. It is a fortress. Like an ancient walled town it covers twelve acres of ground wherein the buildings are surrounded by a double wall with twenty-one turrets or towers and a moat outside. Just outside the entrance


The Lords Prayer.

The Lords Prayer, or Pater noster.

O Ve Father which in heauen art, Lord

hallowed be thy Name: Thy kingdome come,

Thy will be done in earth, euen as the same

in heauen. 11. Giue vs O Lord our dayly bread

this day. And forgiue vs our debtes, as we forgiue our debtors, so for-

geue our debts we pray thee: into temptation leade

vs not: from euill make vs free. For thine is the kingdome,

The x. Commandements.

haue a none: None other Gods at all before

my presence shalt thou haue.

No manner grauen image shalt
thou make at all to thee:
Nor any figure like by thee
shall counterfeited be
Of any thing in heauen aboue,
nor in the earth below,
Nor in the waters beneath the earth:
to them thou shalt not bow.

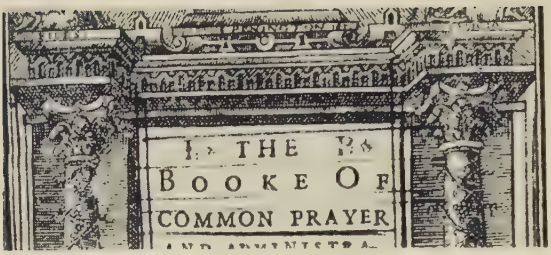
Nor shalt them serue. The Lord thy God
a ielous God am I:
That punish parents faults vnto
the third and fourth degree,
Vpon their children that me hate:
and mercy doe display
To thousands of such as me loue,
and my precepts obey.

The Name thou of the Lord thy God,
in vaine shalt neuer vse:
For him that takes his Name in vaine,
the Lord will not excuse.
Remember that thou holy keepe,
the sacred Sabbath day:
Six dayes thou labour shalt and doe
thy needfull workes alway.

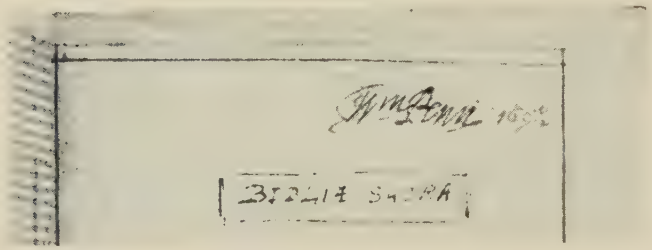
The seuenth day is set by the Lord
his God to rest vpon:
No worke he then shalt thou doe in it,

A metrical version of the Lord's Prayer, from the Psalter of 1626, bound in with the Penington-Penn copy of the Latin Bible of 1618.

The binding of the Latin Bible, Prayer Book, and Psalter inherited by William Penn from the Isaac Peningtons.



"I Penington, 1630" almost hidden on the title page, an eighth of an inch from the top. Note the initials, "I P."



"Wm Penn 169½" signed on the title page of the Latin Bible.

The bookplates of William Penn and the Earl of Portsmouth in the front of the Penington-Penn copy of Prayer Book, Latin Bible, and Psalter.

to the fortress is Great Tower Hill, and it was in lodgings on Great Tower Hill that William Penn was born, within a few yards of the gateway across the moat and within not many yards of All Hallows Barking, the church wherein he was christened. There is poetic justice in the fact that today, within a short distance of the site of William Penn's birthplace and of the entrance to the Tower, is a space accepted as a place wherein freedom of speech is accorded for public speakers who wish to criticize the government of England.

Accepting the evidence given in this Penington-Penn book, we believe that during its first one hundred years it was the property of Alderman Penington, of his son Isaac Penington, the Friend, and of William Penn, the Friend, each for about thirty years.

Isaac Penington, the Younger, married the widow of Sir William Springett, and upon his death we may assume that the book went into the possession of his widow, Mary Penington, who was the mother of William Penn's first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett. Mary Penington died while living in Worminghurst, the home of William Penn. The book seems to have been turned over to William Penn after the death of his mother-in-law, for he wrote his name in it in 1691-92 and later added his bookplate dated 1703. What happened to the book later we do not know, except that it also carries the bookplate of the Earl of Portsmouth, and that earldom was created in 1743. This bookplate is obviously modern.

Eventually the book found its way into the hands of Dr. A. W. S. Rosenbach, a Philadelphia dealer in rare books, from whom it was acquired in 1944 by The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, the present owners.

There are five different handwritings in the volume. Penn's signature is on the title page, although this manuscript title page was written in another hand. On the back of the title page, in still another hand, fairly modern, is written a description of the Vulgate edition. At the back of the volume are two pages of an original prayer done in a handwriting so antiquated and so shaky as to be difficult to read. What was apparently a fifth hand made numerous markings of passages in the Latin Bible and added a few notes in Latin. The majority of these markings

and notes appear in the Book of Exodus, which would seem significant and would suggest the ownership of the younger Penington or some other Quaker, because the Book of Exodus has to do with the migration of the Israelites out of Egypt, something which may be said to have provided the historical idea for the migration of Penn's Quakers out of England. The aforesaid notes are very difficult to decipher, but indicate attention to Exodus 2:22; and 3:12; and 21:13, 28.

It should be added that the book is printed in extremely small type and that there is no evidence of any wear for the Book of Common Prayer nor for the Psalter.

It was about the time of Penn's birth that the Puritans began to avoid the use of printed prayers. In Maria Webb's book the Peningtons, father and son, are described as carrying on an extended correspondence on the subject of religion with copious namings of Biblical chapter and verse.

The Psalter in this Penington and Penn volume is particularly interesting because it is a metrical psalter with the musical notes given in the ancient style, not readily singable today except after transnotation. Our illustration reproduces part of one page of the Psalter, showing the metrical version of the Lord's Prayer with the music. This has special point because of the probability that William Penn as a lad sang the Lord's Prayer in that version.

Walter Lindsay, Philadelphia organist, made a transnotation of this version shown. It was later orchestrated and the Lord's Prayer in that form was sung in at least one Philadelphia high school during the Penn Tercentenary.

Now for a conjectural chronology of this volume.

1618—The Latin Bible is printed in London.
1621—Admiral Sir William Penn is born.
1626—The Book of Common Prayer and the Psalter are printed.
1630—The three are bound into one volume for Isaac Penington, the Elder.
1644—William Penn is born.
1658—Isaac Penington, the Younger, becomes a Quaker.
1661—Isaac Penington, the Elder, dies in the Tower of London and the book becomes the property of his son.

1667—William Penn joins the Society of Friends.
1672—Penn marries Gulielma Springett.
1679—Isaac Penington, the Younger, step-father-in-law of William Penn, dies and the book presumably becomes the property of his widow, Mary Penington.
1682—Mary Penington dies in William Penn's home at Worminghurst and the book presumably becomes the property of her daughter, Penn's wife, Gulielma.
1691—The book becomes the property of William Penn.
1694—Gulielma Penn dies.
1718—William Penn dies.

Thereafter at some time the book was in the library of the Earl of Portsmouth, which Earl we do not know, nor do we know how long the book remained in that family.

To decipher and render into modern print the manuscript of the original prayer written in the Penington-Penn volume was a difficult task, for the penmanship was archaic, crabbed, faded, and Jacobean, filled with ancient abbreviations. But it seemed worthwhile as providing a glimpse at religious expression in those days, and here is Walter Lindsay's translation:

A Prayer Before the Communion

O heavenly God, the most merciful father, I do acknowledge here, with the prodigal son, that I have sinned against heaven and against God, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. How dare I then appear in thy presence, or presume [?] to call thee father, with my polluted lips? Because thy son Christ Jesus hath taught us so to call thee, and wrought, and brought it to pass, by his death and passion, that I may go boldly to the throne of grace, hoping to receive mercy, and find grace in the time of need. Heavenly father, in thy son's name, asking [upon the knees?] of an humble and contrite heart, pardon and forgiveness for all my sins past. O let me have it, seeking for thy favor and grace. O let me find it, knocking at the gate of thy mercy, O God. God opened unto me, and thou, Lord Jesus Christ . . . lovingly . . . unto thee in the gospel. Behold, I am in hope of the . . . hoping to come unto thee as the sick man unto the physician. O heal me, poor and desolate. . . . O let me receive hungering and thirsting unto the word of God.

O satisfy my soul with good things. O let me not depart unfed, for the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from the master's table. I do confess with the Centurion that I am not worthy thou shouldst come under my roof, and that thou shouldst give thy holy flesh and precious blood to be eaten, and drunk by me, being altogether defiled with sins and wickedness. But O Lord I beseech thee to purge my soul by the inward operation of the sanctifying spirit, and make it a fit temple for thee to dwell in, that I may be thought worthy with Zacchaeus to receive thee into my house, and to receive of thee salvation, and I may now so sit at thy holy table here upon earth, that after this life I may sit down [with] Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, and eat of the hidden manna, which thou has promised to all the faithful together.

POST COMMUNION

Almighty God, father of wisdom and fountain of all knowledge—

MRS. FRICK'S

By HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT

THE LOVER of old Philadelphia, walking along South Fourth Street, will unconsciously stop at Number 232, for the well-kept façade of this old house will take him back to the eighteenth century. Its spacious and beautiful doorway was a gracious welcome to many distinguished people over a long period of time, for within were served Mrs. Frick's famous midday dinners.

The inside of the house is as interesting as the outside. There are beautiful mantelpieces in the two front parlors, and the broad stairway gracefully ascends from the rear of the ample hallway. There is a mahogany handrail against the wall as well as for the banisters, and over the whole depend fluted pilasters.

The Philadelphia Directory for 1869 records Rebecca E. Frick, the widow of Amos, at 1219 Green Street, but in 1870 it says that she has opened a boarding house at 232 South 4th Street. Here she dispensed lavish hospitality until approaching her eighty-fifth year in 1908, when it was closed, and she moved to West Conshohocken.

Tradition says that the house was built by Dr. William Shippen at some time prior to the Revolution, and that it was in the second-story front room of spacious dimensions that his son, Dr. William Shippen, Jr., gave lectures in anatomy to the budding medical students who gathered around him. This was before the opening in 1765 of the University's medical school, which was the first in America.

Mrs. Frick was a medium-sized, gentle, Quaker lady of great administrative ability who dispensed the most sumptuous dinners each day to a distinguished company of gentlemen gathered from the then important business district surrounding her house. She rented the property from Edward Armstrong and after 1879, from his executors, William Duane, a famous lawyer, and then from the Philadelphia Trust, Safe Deposit and Insurance Company. It was sold in 1911 to the Insurance Society of Philadelphia, the present owner (1944), which continues to serve midday meals to business men of the district.

Mrs. Frick's dinners were famous, and admittance to the circle which dined there was a privilege. After eating one of these dinners, there were few who could at once resume an active business day, so the two front parlors, which were generally dark, were reserved for their use after the meal. Here they comfortably dozed until the stupor had passed. The cost of the dinner was fifty cents, later raised to sixty cents.

These dinners were home-cooking glorified and just such as most of the men were accustomed to at home on Sundays. Mrs. Frick presided at the head of the table but was seldom seated. She carved the meats at a side table and frequently moved quickly around the table saying a pleasant word here and there to her well-known guests and asking, "Will thee have some more chicken?" and "How does thee like the beef?"

First there was soup—the black bean variety was particularly good. The meats were always of the most excellent quality, as indeed was everything else, especially the butter and cream. There were large dishes of vegetables of much variety on the table, and the desserts consisted of puddings and pies—mince, apple, cherry, and peach. Ice cream was not served.

This was a time when there were very few good restaurants

and people were not accustomed to that kind of food. The men who came to Mrs. Frick's would have been very much upset by the present ways. They found much comfort and pleasant association at 232 South 4th Street. My father used to take me there with him when as a small boy I had the thrilling experience of visiting him in his office nearby. There are yet a goodly number who remember those days with nostalgia. I have recently enjoyed their reminiscences.

Among the many Philadelphians whom it was the small boy's privilege to see at the table were lawyers, insurance men, bankers, railroad men, industrialists, and merchants. They included:

Joseph Wharton, Horace Binney, David E. Williams, Franklin B. Gowen, Reed Williams, George H. Brooke, George I. Bodine, Alexander W. Wister, Charles Wister, William Morgan, General John F. Hartranft, John T. Lewis, Louis Wister, Beauveau Borie, J. Robert Shoemaker, Ellis D. Williams and partners (Hannis, Bunting), Edward Strickland, Ellis Yarnall, Charles Cadwalader, Sr., George M. Warner, A. A. McLeod, Henry Pleasants, Henry I. Brown, James E. Mitchell, James J. Sill, William H. Haines, Frank Neal, Jacob Y. Dietz, Henry M. Steel, Theodore Justice, Thomas P. Bacon, John T. Morris, Joseph H. Haines, John B. Morgan, Ellis Bacon, George B. Roberts, Henry Savage, General Louis Wagner, F. M. Potts, Isaac H. Clothier, Walter Clothier, Isaac H. Clothier, Jr., William J. Clothier, Morris L. Clothier, Clarkson Clothier, Henry Bartol, Justus Strawbridge, Benjamin Z. Strawbridge, Francis R. Strawbridge, Robert E. Strawbridge, Rodman Wister, Jones Wister, Charles C. Harrison, Alfred C. Harrison, W. W. Harrison, Reed A. Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Penrose Keith, Frederick H. Strawbridge, William Rotch Wister, Lyman Biddle, Clifford Lewis, Sr., Sydney Keith, J. Barton Longacre, Maskell Ewing, William D. Winsor, officers of the Central National Bank, Lawrence J. Morris, Linden T. Harris, Frank Johns, Henry W. Brown, J. Pemberton Ellis, Charlton Yarnall, N. Newlin Stokes, Jr., and wife, Joseph Townsend, Charles Townsend, J. Barton Townsend, officers of the Reading Railroad Company, officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, officers of the

Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, J. B. Lippincott, William Warner, Beauveau Borie, Sr., S. Davis Page, Mrs. Large, Howard Butcher, James M. Swank, William Hill, Edgar M. Church, Henry Whelen, Henry Whelen, Jr., Charles Whelen, Arthur Wheeler, Ewing J. Hunter, Walter Wheeler, Dilwyn Wistar, Henry Justice, Anthony J. Drexel, Judge John Cadwalader, Craig Lippincott, Frank Patterson, J. Morris Wistar, Robert C. Lippincott, Horace Mather Lippincott, David Scull, Gabriel Scull, Gideon Scull, William Brooks, Alexander J. Cassatt, Paul Jones Fry, Stephenson Crothers, Amos R. Little, A. J. Drexel Biddle, Charles Biddle, Charles L. Borie, Jr., Walter Wood, Richard Wood, Theodore L. DeBow, Cornelius Weygandt, Sr., George Stephenson, Henry Budd, J. N. Shiner, George H. Earle, Sr., Charles Webb, Andrew M. Shute.

During these years, many important concerns had offices in the neighborhood, such as the Pennsylvania Railroad, Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, Lehigh Valley Railroad, Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, numerous financial institutions and, of course, the insurance companies, which remain to this day although better housed now than then. The Drexel Building and the Bullitt Building were pioneers in the tall office buildings of Philadelphia and were much sought after by tenants of high standing.

No advertising was ever resorted to by Mrs. Frick, and many of the guests occupied the same seats at the table for twenty or thirty years. Newcomers had to be introduced by old timers. There were no rules, but it took repeated visits as the guest of an habitué before the novitiate was admitted as a regular patron. Some succeeded to the chairs of departed fathers, and an accustomed seat was scrupulously guarded against usurpation. There was no sign to indicate the hospitality of the board within, only a plain doorplate with Mrs. Frick's name upon it. It was not a public place but the resort of a "charmed circle daily at the noon hour when the long, old-fashioned dining room is filled with brokers, merchants, lawyers and bankers, representing the cream of Philadelphia's commercial, professional, financial and social leaders, who seat themselves about the long table, which can accommodate forty at a time," says a Philadelphia newspaper

of the time. It estimated that the interests represented at the table "amounted to at least $1,000,000,000."

At the outbreak of the Rebellion, Rebecca E. Frick was living at Limerick Bridge in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, with one son and two daughters. She had been a widow for ten years, and was known throughout the neighborhood for her kindness and attention to the needs of the sick. Like most Friends she was an ardent abolitionist, and the death of her daughter's sweetheart at the Battle of Bull Run sent her into the war as a nurse. "Just because I *had* to," she said.

Full of love and common sense, Mrs. Frick volunteered in Baltimore in April, 1863, as a nurse under Dorothea L. Dix. She was transferred to Washington where she ministered to the sick and wounded soldiers that were streaming into the Capital by the thousands. From the Columbia Hospital in Washington she went to St. John's College Hospital, Annapolis, where she encountered prisoners released from Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia.

Attached to the Cavalry division of General Philip H. Sheridan, she went to Winchester, Virginia, and was present at the battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864, being the only nurse at the front. She had much to say of General Sheridan's personal bravery and of the affection all the soldiers had for the dashing cavalryman. Six hundred tents full of wounded and sick were under Nurse Frick's care, and she not only had to dress the wounds and attend the sick but to prepare their food and write their letters. Here she performed very outstanding and distinguished service and was known as "Faithful."

She was at City Point, Virginia, at the time of Lee's surrender and served at Hampton Roads until mustered out, being the last nurse but one to leave the service. When Miss Dix called the nurses together and asked for volunteers to remain and care for the colored sick and wounded, Mrs. Frick was the first to respond.

The overcrowded hospitals, the lack of adequate antiseptics, and what would now be regarded as primitive methods, did not daunt Mrs. Frick, who strove against odds to prevent the usual gangrene and blood poisoning, often being compelled to use pure

carbolic acid. She frequently dressed suppurating wounds with her fingers raw and bleeding from the combined effects of carbolic acid and chilblains. Cheerfully she put aside all the warnings of the surgeons, winning the devotion and respect of all, particularly for her cheerfulness and common sense. When "Mother" entered the wards with her smiles, deft touches, skilful adjustment of bandages, and drinks of cool water for fever-parched lips, the pain-racked men hailed her as an angel of mercy. They wrote her poetry, letters, and splendid testimonials. One surgeon wrote that "the Country owes you more, vastly more, than it owes many of its generals."

In the midst of the wild rejoicing at City Point over Lee's surrender there came the terrible news of Lincoln's assassination. Mrs. Frick was attending a rebel soldier who to his nurse's horror rejoiced. "Hush, oh hush!" she exclaimed, "if they hear thee say such a dreadful thing, they will take thee out and hang thee!" Sure enough, he was dragged from his bed and a rope was soon found. Saved by a passing General, he was nursed back to health by the faithful nurse who had warned him.

The *Friends Intelligencer* of Philadelphia for Tenth Month, seventh, 1911, has the following notice:

> FRICK—Suddenly, at her residence, "The Hermitage," West Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, on Fourth-day, Ninth month 27th, Rebecca E. Frick, in her 87th year. A member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. Interment at West Laurel Hill Cemetery. The story of this Friend's remarkable life will be given next week.

This is the "story" referred to.

REBECCA E. FRICK

Rebecca E. Frick, a notice of whose death was published last week, volunteered as a nurse at the beginning of the Civil War. She was the last survivor of those who were with Sheridan at the battle of Cedar Creek, and was the only nurse at the front at that time. She went about in the midst of six hundred tents, dressing the wounds of the soldiers and preparing food for the sick. She was the first to respond to the call for nurses for the colored troops.

After the war she opened a boarding house at 232 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia, where meals were served to A. J. Cassatt, Judge Cadwalader, George H. Earle, Sr., Anthony Drexel, and other prominent business men of the

city. It is estimated that the private wealth of the men who at one time ate dinner at her table amounted to over $240,000,000. She continued to manage this boarding house until she was 83 years old.

Rebecca Frick was a descendant of Friends but too busy to give much attention to Meeting. After she became a woman of leisure she attended the Friends' Conference at Ocean Grove and became very much interested in the doings of the Society. The next winter she asked to become a member of Race Street Meeting and was received into membership in her 86th year. Last Spring she took a room near the meeting house during Yearly Meeting week and attended every session, including the evening meetings. A month or two before her death, in her 87th year, in company with her friend, Cornelia Hancock,[1] she attended the Grand Army Encampment at Buffalo and attended all the meetings connected therewith. She had been temporarily ill a short time before the paralytic stroke that ended her life, but had apparently recovered. Joel Borton,[2] with whom she dealt when he had a stand in Twelfth Street Market, spoke at her funeral and bore testimony to the efficiency and earnestness of her life.[3]

F. LAURISTON BULLARD contributes an article to the *Lincoln Herald*, vol. 46 (1944), pp. 9-12, on "Lincoln and the Quaker Woman," in which he relates Eliza Gurney's visit and correspondence with the President. He questions seriously the story that her letter was found in his pocket at his death. There is a portrait of her and a facsimile of Lincoln's letter to her.

"JOHN ARMFIELD, Slave Trader," in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 2 (1943), pp. 3-29, and "John Armfield of Beersheba Springs," *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1944), pp. 46-64, 156-67, are articles by Isabel Howell dealing with a successful speculator on the slave market (1797-1871), who subsequently promoted a health resort in Tennessee and became a benefactor of the University of the South at Sewanee. He himself was a staunch Episcopalian, but his forbears were North Carolina Quakers, the earliest of them, also a John Armfield, having come from the North of England to teach school in Philadelphia.

[1] The experiences of Cornelia Hancock (1840-1926) as a Civil War nurse are described in *South After Gettysburg*, edited by Henrietta S. Jaquette (Philadelphia, 1937).

[2] Joel Borton was a well-known minister of Pilesgrove Monthly Meeting who died in 1927. See *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 84 (1927), p. 585.

[3] *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 68 (1911), p. 651.

A HISTORICAL QUESTIONNAIRE BY WILLIAM PENN

By Henry J. Cadbury

THE questionnaire here printed, I believe for the first time, evidently belongs to that early and persistent concern of Friends to secure a record of the significant facts of their history. The resulting documents, as presented in 1904 to 1907 by Norman Penney in *The First Publishers of Truth* together with others later identified and published by the same editor or by the present writer in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society* in 1908, 1916, 1926, 1928, 1929, 1934, 1935, and 1939, are not complete, but they bear witness both to the success and to the failure of Friends in attempting to recover in various parts of England and Wales their local history.

What individuals were most responsible for instituting this inquiry we do not know. George Fox had himself a great interest in preserving materials for history. The letters of Friends from near the beginning of the movement were kept by him and Margaret Fell at Swarthmore Hall and were definitely preserved to supply historical data for the future. Questionnaires were early circulated. The sufferings of Friends were to be regularly reported to London, where Ellis Hookes began collecting them as early as 1660. Fox's lost Book of Miracles was a compilation of rather more autobiographical character, but his lost Book of Examples, relating God's judgments on persecutors, was a compilation in more than one sense the opposite of the Book of Miracles. The annual queries, one of which asked explicitly about such judgments, became a routine method of obtaining historical data on certain lines. Another collection was "The Lives of Friends in the Ministry." The central bodies of Friends diligently sought information about deceased ministers, and the preparation of memorials about them by local meetings became finally almost a regular biographical habit. This material found printed expression in the successive volumes of *Piety Promoted.* The various inquiries about the first publishing of truth were therefore parallel to these other processes of collecting historical records. Indeed, the responses sometimes overlap. In

the collections which should be answers on the first publishing of truth we find imbedded sometimes the annual queries themselves,[1] sometimes biographies of deceased ministers,[2] and often whole sections that would seem to be more suitable for the collection of Friends' sufferings.[3]

As already suggested, the furtherance of such inquiries was largely the task of the central meetings in London. It was therefore impersonal, though much of the labor of sending out the questions and receiving the replies must have fallen upon the successive scriveners employed by Friends as secretaries in their headquarters. One of the questionnaires giving "directions to collect matters for a general history of the entrance and progress of truth in this age, by way of annals" was printed and a copy of it has been endorsed "By C. Meidel."[4] The interest of the document here published is that it too has an endorsement in the hand of William Penn:

writt by W. P. signed by many Brethren

It is derived from a MS volume of copies of sundry papers of William Penn now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and formerly in the papers owned by Granville Penn. Penn himself had seen the volume and supplied a few endorsements like that mentioned, and the following heading:

> A Book of Letters and some other Papers given forth at several times as required of the Lord and otherwise in zeal and a good understanding of them, whether to Friends, rulers, people or any particular persons, by me William Penn from the 7th month in the year 1667

The book has had various vicissitudes, pages 1-42 and pages 43-180 being once separately owned and sold. Evidently other pages once followed page 180. The volume is rebound under the title "William Penn's Letter Book 1667-1675." The piece in question occurs on pages 104-06.

[1] *J. F. H. S.*, vol. XXXI, p. 5 (Chipping meeting).

[2] *F. P. T.*, p. 2 (1682), or pp. 147-51.

[3] *F. P. T.*, pp. 169-93.

[4] *F. P. T.*, p. 2. On Christopher Meidel, see my article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XXXIV (1941), pp. 13-23.

Nothing further is known of the history of this document. There is no evidence that it was actually circulated, for, unlike the other forms of questionnaire known to us, its language is not echoed in any of the published replies. Its date is suggested by the fact that the other Penn papers copied in the volume, though not in order, range from 1667 to 1678. Its reference to Ellis Hookes and "his voluminous account of sufferings" does not narrow these limits, for Hookes, as we have said, was already collecting the material returned to London from the counties in 1660, and he died in 1681.[5] It evidently was written more than twenty years after the "last-breaking-forth of Truth," a date about which even early Friends were not in exact agreement, perhaps somewhere between 1646 and 1652.[6]

The first official questionnaire on the subject of which we have evidence was sent down by London Yearly Meeting in May 1676. It had six questions[7] which dealt respectively with

1. the first messengers
2. their sufferings
3. those who received them
4. those who had died
5. judgments upon persecutors
6. conversions of enemies

The printed questionnaire above mentioned can be dated, I think, in 1704. It has three main headings: Of the publication of Truth, of the reception of Truth, and of opposition to Truth, each of which is subdivided in considerable detail. William Penn's draft should be compared with these formulations. It may well be the earliest. Some of its features are unique, though without knowing them some of the replies to the other inquiries supply the answers to these questions. Indeed his No. 12 is matched by the heading "Apostates" in the reply from Ashford, Kent.[8] Penn's No. 13 inquiring about anti-Quaker books is not

[5] *J. F. H. S.*, vol. I, pp. 15, 21.

[6] On the "Era of Quakerism," compare *The American Friend*, vol. LI, 1944, pp. 356-57.

[7] See *F. P. T.*, pp. 24, 26, rather than *F. P. T.*, p. 1. The Lancashire replies in *J. F. H. S.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 4-19, have the six-hold headings. The Lancashire replies of *F. P. T.*, pp. 335-40, have the first five.

[8] *F. P. T.*, pp. 145 f.

quite unique, being included in the 1704 "opposition to truth" "by words and writings." There appears to be an almost autobiographical interest for Penn in No. 11. Unfortunately the copy omits the verb that in the original must have preceded "the threats of fathers to their children." Admiral Penn's reconciliation to his son before the former's death in 1670 would have been a suitable instance to use in reply to this question.

A few of Penn's printed writings show him as a man interested in Quaker history—notably his oft-republished preface to George Fox's *Journal.* That he was history-conscious was natural from his background and is shown by his use in controversial and propaganda writings of data from the past. When the Friends Reference Library was founded in 1673 William Penn is said to have been a member of the Committee.[9] In later life he can recommend to a young Friend a long list of books of general history,[10] including Bulstrode Whitlock's *Memorials of the English Affairs* which he himself edited for publication. This broad cultural outlook is shown in some phrases of the present document. It makes explicit some of the considerations which lay behind the whole enterprise to which it belongs.

Dearly Beloved Friends and Brethren

In the never dying Truth is our love to you all greeting you in the sweet and heavenly Fellowship of the same which is very pretious to our Soules: and we doubt not but it is the same to you.

Dear Friends, it hath long lain upon the minds of many Faithful Friends, to have a true and punctual Account, so far as it can be obtained of the last-breaking-forth and progress of the blessed Truth to this very Day (at least for the first 20 years, that make up by the common Acceptation one full Age) to the end that we may leave to posterity a plain, true and full Narrative, or History of, as well, the most memorable matters of Fact as Doctrine: the want of which after the Apostles' Decease was the Occasion of much Mischief to the Church. For so it hath happened that scarcely can we compass one pure peece of Antient Tradition. It was the wisdom of God, that lead the Israelites first to write, and then to transmit the several Chronicles contained in the Scriptures, to After-Generations. And something was done of the Apostles' Travels in that called The Acts; though very short, and as we may say, imperfect: considering,

[9] *The Friend* (London) 1944, p. 372.

[10] *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, vol. 4 (1911), pp. 37-40.

that much of Paul's Travels and Planting of Churches is omitted; and little, if anything sayd, of the great and successful Travels of many other Apostles and faithful Labourers. Not to mention the neglect or loss of any Account of the Churches conversion; divers sort of sufferings; their Persecutors; God's Judgments upon them, etc. that would have been serviceable to Posterity.

It seems therefore to us very expedient, to collect on all hands, what we can procure, that may make up such a Relation, as well answer the witness of God in all, and render us prudent and carefull of truth's concerns, respecting our Posterity. We know not of immediately Digesting any Relations, that we shall get into such an History: onely, that such an Account may be procured, and then lay by as good and able Tools to perform so good a work with.

In order to this we do in many Friends name desire, that you would please let us know as followeth:

1. Who brought the Testimony first amongst you?
2. When it was?
3. What memorable sufferings were by such messengers then and there sustained?
4. Who received the Truth first in those parts, and what Fame or the contrary its report had?
5. When you have meetings first settled amongst you; and when your mens meetings were begun?
6. What sufferings from year to year attended for the Testimonies sake?
7. By whom inflicted?
8. The Judgments of God upon such in any sort.
9. His mercies in turning their hearts: as in some places Informers have pin'd to death; in other places they have repented, and loved Friends; and Friends have contributed to their wants doing good for evil.
10. Where any fell off, and were followed with God's Curse.
11. Where any have signally left all; and God hath wonderfully the Threats of Fathers to their Children: and they have in the End known the Promise made good an hundred fold in this life as well as life everlasting.
12. Where bad spirits have risen, and false brethren appear'd, with your Judgment and their End; either to return or where any notable displeasure from God hath followed either by running into the Spirit of this World visibly, notwithstanding their pretences to more self denying or heavenly things: or where the wrath of God hath taken hold of them, or their family, or their Estates.

13. What books came out against you? and when? and by whom? also by whom answer'd?
14. What Eminent Friends dyed every year; especially if any considerable testimony fell from them.

In all the Cases we seek only some memorable Instances, because of brevity. Such as have sent up their sufferings already, which is one head, touched now upon; we would not trouble them over again in that particular but will have recourse to E. Hookes, and his voluminous Account of Sufferings. But in all other Cases we intreat your utmost care of the Truth, and Exactness of your relations, and not less diligence in the dispatch of your enquiry to these matters. We hope the love you have to the Lord and his blessed Truth and your desires with ours, that his name may be magnified, and his eternal Truth more famous to all Generations, will whet you on to further this good intendment without further exhortations. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve us all in unity with himself, and one another, in his eternal praise, and our mutual comfort, world without End.

Your Loving Friends and Brethren

DOLLY MADISON, Quaker Girl, by Helen Albee Monsell (Bobbs-Merrill, 1944), is a biography intended for quite young children in the series called "Childhood of Famous Americans."

RICHARD TAPPER CADBURY 1768-1860 is the title of a booklet written by William A. Cadbury and printed for private circulation by the George Cadbury Trust (Birmingham, England, 1944, 29 pages). R. T. Cadbury came to Birmingham in 1794, one hundred and fifty years ago. He played a prominent part in the public life of the city and in the Society of Friends there. He is the ancestor of all known persons of the name Cadbury in England or America. This account supplements rather than repeats information about him in print elsewhere, and is supplied with illustrations and five appendices.

THE Story of Friends Meeting House at Quaker Street, N. Y., by Marjorie R. Hoag Phillips (Suffolk County News Press, Sayville, Long Island, 1944, 24 pages), is a nicely illustrated history of the meeting house erected in 1807, and still standing, and of Duanesburg (now Quaker Street) Monthly Meeting. This pamphlet may be welcomed as an addition to the large number of local Quaker histories.

MARTHA SCHOFIELD, Servant of the Least, 1889-1916, by Mary S. Patterson (1944, 32 pages), is a well written and attractively illustrated account of the Friend from Pennsylvania who gave her life for the welfare of the Negroes of South Carolina through the school at Aiken that bears her name.

JUST AMONG FRIENDS—IN 1806: PART II

By Robert J. Leach

CLARKSON states that the second strongest factor preserving the Quaker way of life was the official Discipline of the Society. The Discipline had evolved as a rule to walk by in the earliest years, and had been codified by 1806 into a rigid set of regulations. It was then understood to serve the function of counteracting the infirmity of human nature, rather than representing the collective inward guidance, as it had once done. Clarkson says that for the sake of enforcing the Discipline, monthly meetings, or rather "monthly courts," had been established. Apparently the most important business of these legalistic meetings for business was to provide a machinery for admonishing, dealing with, and disowning offenders. The Quaker ideal was that every Christian watch over every other, and act when a reclamation of a wanderer seemed prudent. This involved visiting and laboring with the Friend who was supposed to have transgressed the Discipline. If he or she appeared recalcitrant, witnesses accompanied the second visit. Further disciplinary action was accounted serious. The monthly meeting in this stage appointed a committee of dealing, which had the virtual power of disownment, if it reported negatively to the following monthly meeting. Of course there had to be unanimity of feeling before a testimony of disunity could be issued against the offender. However, the opportunity for appealing was not cut off, for the quarterly meeting or the yearly meeting might reverse the action of the subordinate body. The separate men's and women's meetings for business admonished separately those offenders within their scope. But when faced with the more important business of dealing or disowning, women Friends had to submit to joint committees. Quaker sex equality was not as far-reaching in 1806 as it is reputed to have been.

Disownment was a more effective weapon than it is now, for social adjustment to worldly ways was greater in 1806. There was no escaping the consequences of disownment, for no meeting except the monthly meeting to which the offender had belonged could readmit him to membership. The outside world judged

this system of oversight and power to disown to be tyrannical busybodying. Disgruntled ex-members were no doubt responsible for much of this attitude. However, disownment was the most drastic action that could be taken, and it was kinder than its church counterpart, namely excommunication. Other criticisms of disownment were that it tended to make overseers dictatorial, and that discrimination was practiced in favor of rich members. Though Clarkson did not deny this accusation categorically, he asserted that such criticisms could not be generally substantiated. It is interesting here to cite the viewpoint of the *Portraiture* that wealth was the chief cause of the weaning away of rich members and of their disownment for marrying out of meeting. Incidentally the Society of Friends was declining numerically in England at that time, but was gaining in America. This latter gain was contributed to in many areas by the lack of church units of other denominations. In England it was the general practice to establish one quarterly meeting per county. Each monthly meeting within the quarterly meeting was composed of a number of neighboring local meetings. Clarkson is very warm in his commendation of the phenomenal attendance of Friends at monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. This he attributes to the ideal of mutual watchfulness, and to the very close sense of belonging to, and taking part in, a religious community. Since all members were equal within the membership, there was a degree of self-assurance inherent in attendance itself. Again there was the opportunity to renew old friendships, especially at yearly meeting. That season was regarded as propitious for younger members to meet suitable marriage companions.

Monthly meetings for business were held much as they are today. No voting was permitted, a nonpresiding clerk collected the sense of the meeting on matters where silence gave consent. First there were presented the minutes of the last meeting, old business, then new business. And then the queries. These were questions which searched the membership as to their adherence to Quaker testimonies. Proposed answers were presented by the overseers, and amended to suit the sense of the meeting. In passing, it should be noted that the overseers consisted of two men and two women Friends in each meeting, who had special obliga-

tions to watch over the membership and to handle legal matters, such as property, titles, marriages, etc.

Upon the answering of the queries, deputies of representatives were selected to carry them to the quarterly meeting, where all such answers were summarized and in turn sent up to the yearly meeting, accompanied by representatives appointed in the same manner. The yearly meeting summary of query answers was usually combined with a statement of the spiritual concerns and tone of that session. These facts were amalgamated into an epistle which was sent back to each monthly meeting by way of the quarterly meetings. Queries were formulated and considered bearing on the following matters: the condition of the meetings for worship and business; report of convincements; the amount of love and unity within the membership; adherence to plainness; honesty in business; avoidance of idle diversions; testimony against church tithes; testimony against war and privateering; testimony against smuggling; the condition of poor members; the setting up or laying down of meetings; an account of sufferings for conscience' sake; a list of marriages; the effectiveness of overseers; the condition of legal records.

The importance of the first query on meetings, as well as of those on love and unity and condition of the poor, was reflected by the fact that they were summarized by every quarterly meeting, and not only once a year, as were the other queries. Here we notice many of the forerunners of the modern queries. A second category are those, like that dealing with smuggling, which reflect the historical era. Still again Puritan overtones are represented by such as the query covering idle diversions. Certainly these questions were honest and effective methods of preserving group unity, and wherever this method has lost its primary emphasis, that group of Friends has lost a precious quality of community.

The continuous dissipation of a sense of community which the separations and a modern industrial world have caused, has resulted both in the discontinuance in a large measure of spiritual watchfulness over others, and of disownment. Meetings for business are consequently poorly attended and relegated to small influence. Yearly meetings are somewhat of an exception though much of the work is carried on by paid committee secretaries,

who have a vested interest in the scope and success of their work. I believe it is true to say that today the Society of Friends no longer relies upon its Discipline as a genuinely cohesive factor.

IT IS interesting to explore Friends' relationship to the civil authorities in 1806. The principal tenet in this regard was that the government exists to restrain evildoers. This they felt was substantiated by the hypothesis that if all men became Christians there would be no offensive behavior and thus no punishments needed. Armies would be superfluous. There would be no rights of the poor to be protected for there would be neither poor nor rich. Since Friends assumed that laws were necessary only to restrain evildoers, they declared that law had no jurisdiction over matters of conscience and religion. That realm, they said, needed no intermediary between God and man. No man could judge another's conscience, thus they would not resist the punishment involved for breaking a law for conscience' sake.

One clash with the will of the state had been resolved by the government's allowance of affirmation in place of an oath. Citing Jesus' command "Swear not at all," Friends pointed out that oaths set a double standard. The righteous would be honest anyway, and the unrighteous would not be affected by the oath. Moreover, it was presumptuous to summon God to witness man's petty affairs.

It was natural that the Society of Friends upheld a lay ministry. Its unprofessional character kept it from becoming a distinct clerical group. The joy of the service was its reward. A minister was regarded as a "called" person. He was recorded by his monthly meeting as a minister, when recommended by the local elders, because he had spoken often and acceptably in meetings for worship. This recommendation was largely for the purpose of avoiding the basis of a properly endorsed certificate if he asked to be "released" so that he might visit abroad in the land in religious service. Upon these visits the minister went from meeting to meeting and from family to family to encourage a close walk within the advices of the Discipline. He received hospitality while on these trips and at times financial help from his home monthly meeting which released him for such a service.

If a minister desired to travel beyond the shores of England, he must procure a quarterly meeting endorsement to his certificate, and also another from the special meeting of all the ministers and elders at yearly meeting time. Additional financial aid might be received from this meeting. Since Friends believed that God spoke through every human instrument they pioneered in recognizing women as Quaker ministers. To shocked critics who quoted Paul in the New Testament, Friends replied that the apostle's advice was only that questioning upon rational matters be discontinued in meeting—his words did not apply to the prophetic message.

Today there is some inclination to discontinue the recording of ministers, as such a practice is supposed to establish a Quaker laity. It is probably that modern Friends have forgotten that recording was a gracious gesture to release a Friend from his meeting that he might become a public Friend, ministering to the Society at large. Discontinuance of recording has been paralleled by the discontinuance of intervisitation. It is probable that these tendencies affected each other. Likewise the understanding of the functions of the elders has been progressively clouded. Perhaps the decline in these understandings is the most dangerous omen for the future of the Society of Friends.

We turn now to what Thomas Clarkson called the "moral education" of Friends—that factor in which he put greatest faith. Here more than elsewhere the puritan influence of the age is highly visible. The *Portraiture* claimed that the efficacy of Quaker education was due to its repressive quality—its rules and regulations which prohibited Friends from experience in certain realms of life. Upon being asked to defend the repressive character of their educational ideals, Quakers replied that it was best to separate their young from corrupt influences, that they might get on faster with the business of understanding the virtues of Christian living. As a chosen people they desired to avoid even the appearance of evil, and the system had proved practical in perpetuating their testimonies as a people. To those who questioned further, stating that Quaker education was contrary in practice to the belief in the immediacy of the holy spirit, Friends replied that children lacked a perfect judgment in this regard.

Clarkson listed a number of specific prohibitions in the Discipline. The first applied to all games of chance, lotteries, and speculation. The argument in this regard was that reliance upon chance destroyed one's sense of responsibility to society, and was apt to cause angry contention. A practice of gambling would decrease one's active reliance upon the ministrations of the inward spirit. Cards and horseracing, though innocent in themselves, were too generally tied in with games of chance to be countenanced. In fact Friends were careful to avoid even any phrase involving words such as "it was a lucky chance."

Music, though innocent in itself, was discarded along with card playing. Neither contributed to building Christian character as Quakers saw them. A further objection to music was that listening produced a sense of temporary intoxication unrelated to the common responsibilities of daily living. Vocal songs were especially taboo as singing them involved licentious librettos. What other categories could have been found in 1806 than hunting songs, which were inconsistent with human kindliness, drinking songs, which were intemperate, martial songs, which for Friends were impossible, or church hymns? These, though their subjects were moral, were in themselves a denial of the essential immediacy of the holy spirit. Nothing was said of love songs. Perhaps they were beneath mention. One further criticism was that a musical career led one into creaturely pride as well as away from time needed for inward retirement.

The theatre was denied even more emphatically. It was feared that acting the part of an unreal character would lead to sophistication and a slackening off from real responsibilities. All the criticisms leveled against the use of music were applicable here, and if anything intensified. In addition there was the criticism that the drama tended to dissipate the domestic harmony of a household, and to invalidate a single standard of truth. Furthermore Quakers pointed out that the early Christians gave up the Roman theatre.

Like the world of drama, that of the novel was considered unreal and therefore forbidden. In 1806 the day of realistic fiction had not yet arrived. An affectation of outward knowledge was an additional evil involved here. Dancing was the next

subject to come under interdict, though recognized to be natural to all children. Here the chief objections appear to have been that dancing meant vanity of dress and manner. And for a middle-aged or elderly Quaker to dance would be very unseemly.

One last prohibition has already been mentioned. That involved hunting as a sport. This Friends regarded as a selfish diversion which denied the respect which animals deserved as a part of God's creation. Also prohibited was the cock-fighting of the day.

It is surprising that the *Portraiture* says so little of the positive nature of the curriculum of the schools. A few generalizations may be made, but they are inadequate. Evidently there was no particular effort to administer schools for the purpose of nurturing the divine seed. This was attended to in meetings for worship and for business. In the realm of objective schooling they dealt with unregenerate human nature. Clarkson is critical of Friends because they did not encourage as much classical and scientific education as would be helpful and yet harmless. He cites the educational opportunities of Penn, Barclay, Ellwood, and Penington to prove that the early Friends were well educated. The 1806 Quaker replied that higher education other than that of a domestic moral character tended to produce intellectual pride, and reduce religion to rationalism. Time has proved this to have been an acute prognostication.

As a rule Quaker women were better educated than Quaker men. This Clarkson attributed to the custom of putting boys early to a trade, but of continuing the girls' schooling. Such discrimination resulted, he says, in men Friends being concerned with money and its acquisition, while women Friends were occupied with broader interests. In searching for an adequate expression of Quaker education today, modern Friends are faced with the dilemma of competing with a broad liberal educational program, and at the same time introducing the discipline of the spirit, which has been abandoned from meetings of worship and business.

VARIOUS references have been made to the money-making trait, and the comfortable economic situation of Friends. We recall that the Quaker innovation of a fixed price was the ancestry of this prosperity. And as we consider the wealth of

Friends today, it is especially interesting to examine their condition as the close of the eighteenth century. Then, as now, there was a steady migration from the country to urban centers, where most Quakers pursued more profitable trades. Tithes, operative in country areas, as well as a lack of a sense of community, when Friends were scattered about on farms, are given as contributing causes. There were a few manufacturers, a few mechanics, and a number of seafaring Friends, especially in America, but only a very few in the practice of law or medicine or other professions.

Then as now the economic sphere of life was regarded as lying within the province of religion. The chief difference was that Friends of that time had not come to question the acquisition of property itself as an explicit evil. Rather Friends were concerned with abolishing such inhuman practices as slave-trading and privateering. As a corollary to the peace testimony Friends were careful not to manufacture or trade in munitions. Smuggling was regarded as subversive of good government. As mentioned in connection with educational policies all speculating was rigidly forbidden. In order to enforce these principles Friends were required to make a yearly inventory of their business conditions. To go bankrupt meant to be put under dealing by the monthly meeting, and then disowned if the committee discovered culpable business practices. It was common to prevent a member in debt from attending business meetings, and from making donations to charity while in that condition. Friends would have been dealt with, and then probably disowned, if they engaged in distilling or selling liquor, manufacturing cotton cloth, operating a funeral establishment, printing worldly literature, making worldly clothes, or operating a jewelry shop.

All these prohibitions, I believe, are self-evident except perhaps that of manufacturing cotton cloth. The prohibition in this case resulted from the vile conditions of hours and wages, and the consequent immorality of the employees in a cotton mill. Friends had not yet seen how to improve by pioneering in the field of better working conditions. Further regulation on the part of the meeting in Quaker business affairs is revealed by the arbitration system which forbade Friends to go to law with each other. In fact this system for settling differences was so effective that

in 1793 some English industrial firms adopted arbitration between employees and employers.

Though there were not many really poor persons in the Society, there were adequate regulations by which each monthly meeting supported its unemployed and unemployables. The overseers assumed this particular oversight. And they were careful to provide the children of poor parents with copies of the Bible and the Discipline.

Despite this circumspect set of regulations, the criticism was common among non-Friends that the Quakers were money-getters. Clarkson hastens to state that though Quakers retained money more easily than those who spent it for ostentatious display, they could not be accused of being avaricious. Even most of England recognized the Quaker charities. Friends were to be found on the board of directors of all large philanthropic societies.

The complete lack of regulation upon private Quaker business today reflects the growth of the industrial era perhaps more than the decay of folk mores. Modern business complications, combined with divergent opinions as to the basic morality of various types of economic systems, would make such an inquiry very difficult if not fruitless. Still there are certain trades which deny Quaker principles. Here a stricter scrutiny would be valuable in recrystalizing Quaker business ethics.

There is very little in the *Portraiture* dealing with race relations. Participation in the movement to abolish the slave trade was, we recall, the contributing cause of Clarkson's book. Further reference is made to William Penn's treatment of the Indians, and the continued concern of American Quakers for their descendants. In passing, it is wise to say that the race question was still a peripheral problem for English Quakers.

President Comfort, like most modern writers, has singled out the peace testimony for special emphasis. This emphasis reflects largely the work of the Service Council and the Friends Service Committee. But in 1806, peaceableness was regarded as a natural corollary to a way of life. This approach was similar, we recall, to George Fox's idea. That worthy elder treated pacifism in a footnote. Clarkson states that there were absolutely no Quaker soldiers. And this was the time of threatened Napoleonic invasion.

The bases of the negative peace testimony were the words of Jesus, the example of the early Christian Church, and practical illustrations taken largely from Penn's colony, to prove war as a social instrument was unnecessary. It is interesting that then, as today, Quakers had to meet the argument that pacifism is correct for individuals, but not for social groups. In this age Friends explained their payment of paid taxes involving war maintainance by stating that the onus of wrong expenditures rested upon the state. They had rendered unto Caesar what they felt was his due.

Friends had not yet come to understand the weapon of the spirit which they possessed in approaching affirmatively the problem of war and peace. But now that this approach is comprehended, less than half the membership of the Society is pacifist.

IN CLOSING the *Portraiture* Thomas Clarkson gives what he considers to be the Quaker contributions to society. There are four items. First, the Quakers served as a corporate example of a virtuous way of life. Second, their example shamed others into abandoning religious persecution. Third, they set an example by freeing their own Negro slaves. Fourth, they had reformed the penal laws in America. There seems to be but little that Friends since that time have accomplished, though we may not yet have sufficient perspective to judge fairly.

As we consider the Society of Friends in 1806, making allowances for the inescapable influences of the times, I believe we discover that the pattern of Christian faith and practice then presented was rather stronger than weak. As a categorical imperative its extension would have resulted in a better world than we possess today. On the other hand, the Society of Friends did not cover the earth, but it collapsed into many virtually unimportant fragments. The seeds of its destruction lay in its very pattern. We should understand the elements which led to self-destruction in order to avoid them, at least, in rebuilding Christian society. I see the following to have been the chief evils: first, reliance upon outward theory and statute to the exclusion of cultivating the expanding truth which first created both the theory and the statute; second, reliance upon established methods of action in a spirit that was devisive rather than unifying to

those who had not had equal insight; third, reliance upon certain apparently fixed economic, social, or governmental frameworks to which the group had adapted its functions. If Friends had been more alive inwardly, had learned to express the true nature of their Society to the outer world, and had been able to adjust to a changing industrial age, we might well be able to state as Thomas Clarkson did in the *Portraiture*, that Quakerism was primarily a revival of primitive Christianity.

BOOK REVIEWS

William Penn, 1644-1718: A Tercentenary Estimate, by William Wistar Comfort. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 185 pp. $2.00.

THE tercentenary of the birth of William Penn calls for an appraisal of the founder of Pennsylvania in historic perspective. This is the purpose of Dr. Comfort's present essay. There are lives of Penn in plenty, but something more was needed for the author's purpose, although a brief review of Penn's life using the accumulated knowledge of it was required to give the readers who are not specialists in the subject a proper background for understanding the man and his achievements. To this sketch of his life a little more than a third of the volume is given. The story is well-balanced, the selection of material well suited to his purpose, and it is saved from the juicelessness that often results from compression by frequent quotations from original sources. The whole book is admirably written, both in its apt and easy style and in its felicitous choice of materials and treatment.

Dr. Comfort emphasizes the uniqueness of Penn among outstanding men of his age. His heritage gave him wealth and the characteristic breeding of an English gentleman and courtier. He was the only Quaker statesman. He was the only founder of a colony who had opportunity to try experiments in civil government with so little limitation by crown, church, or citizenry. Among the other individual founders of English colonies in America, only Roger Williams can be compared with him. Dr. Comfort does so as follows:

> In our colonial history the only figure with whom Penn is comparable is Roger Williams (1604?-84), who was forty years old when Penn was born, and died about the time Pennsylvania was founded. Though Williams had no sympathy with the peculiar Quaker tenets of George Fox, he shared with Penn devotion to religious tolerance, insistence upon separation of Church and State, and good will toward the Indians. Williams passed through divers religious affiliations and has been described as a seeker for truth to the end of his life. During his long life in America he was a political and religious controversialist. Penn, on the other hand,

> changed his religious allegiance once for all. He was a finder of what he wanted, and for him a high degree of religious consistency may be claimed. Though both men were highly endowed intellectually, Penn had a greater social prestige and was a larger public figure as Proprietary of Pennsylvania. Both men contributed to the evolution of American institutions, but Penn had the opportunity of writing on a clean slate those principles which have become the foundations of our American democracy. Probably no one would contend that Williams' writings can be compared, for either quantity or importance, with Penn's.

The rest of the book is given over to an appraisal of his contributions to English and American life as an exponent of Quakerism, as a champion of tolerance, as the founder of Pennsylvania, and as a man of letters. In this way he combines the biographical method of most lives on Penn with the topical treatment which was used by William I. Hull.

Dr. Comfort presents fairly the defects in Penn's character, his limitations, and his failures measured by his ideals. But as in the case of any great man, aside from the lessons to be learned as to how to avoid these, history is chiefly concerned with the positive contributions to human life, made by its characters.

Dr. Comfort approaches the chief phases of Penn's life from the point of view of a modern reader, whose primary interest in the past is to understand the present; who asks what of Penn's life-work and personal influence still endures? What did he contribute to our institutions and ideologies? How did he enrich the heritage of America and the rest of the English-speaking world, of the democracies, or of the Christian church?

> Let us see in conclusion what Penn added to the assets of humanity. We have seen that he provided for government by the people through the popular election of their representatives; he proposed plans looking toward the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international disputes; he set up open courts with juries of one's peers and with justice for the accused; he reformed the prison system by substituting workhouses for dungeons; he restricted capital punishment for the crimes of wilful murder and treason; he provided for an affirmation as the equivalent of a legal oath; he successfully advocated friendly treatment of the natives instead of seeking to corrupt and exploit them; he respected the rights of conscience and freedom of worship, avoiding the abuse of a state church; he offered a plan for coöperation between the American colonies; and he made provision for popular and practical education of his citizens.

It is evident from Dr. Comfort's sketch that Penn was a many-sided character, owing largely to his rich heritage; he was a seventeenth-century Englishman, heir to Magna Carta, the Reformation, Puritanism, and the other sources of English freedom and democracy, underlined by his unusual education. He inherited through his father, Admiral Penn, and the Duke of York's friendship, a large part of the traditions of an English gentleman and courtier. This heritage included the opportunity

to acquire and keep the province of Pennsylvania as his heritage of English democracy disposed him and enabled him to use it for a unique and remarkably successful "experiment in civil government." Then by way of Puritanism he became a Quaker, without which it is impossible to imagine his other interests and endowments resulting in any original contribution to modern life. To quote again:

> Such a life can never be lived again. With the same opportunities, but without being a Quaker, Penn would certainly have incorporated some of his advanced ideas in his government. But we trust it has been made clear that his advocacy of them grew almost entirely from his sense of responsibility to Quakerism, and that they are all based upon the essential principles of human brotherhood and good will which are inherent in the faith he embraced at the age of twenty-three.

It is rather the fashion to appraise Penn's work as though it had no essential connection with his work as a statesman, as the champion of political and religious freedom, and as one of the framers of constitutional government. Dr. Comfort makes it very clear that the taproot of his principles and ideals was his Quaker faith and that it also supplied the dynamic for a seemingly impossible undertaking. Penn asserted this in his letter to Logan in 1702:

> I desire thy application and health, and above all thy growth in the feeling of the power of truth: for that fits and helps us above all other things, even in business of this world, clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform.

Duke University. ELBERT RUSSELL

Remember William Penn. Published by the William Penn Tercentenary Committee of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania [1944], xvii, 173+78 pp.; 73 illustrations; with chronological table, bibliography, and index.

ANY anniversary committee is faced with the problem of leaving a lasting impression of its purpose upon the community wherever it functions. There is little that is more durable than printer's ink and paper, and this committee has very wisely decided to build a memorial out of those everlasting materials. If this volume is widely distributed the Commonwealth will have an effective reminder of William Penn that will not soon be forgotten.

This attractive book is made up of an effective arrangement of the Founder's words and the best selection of illustrations of his life and work which the reviewer has ever seen. The man is permitted to speak largely for himself and he does it very pointedly because of the careful editorial arrangement and the neatly written connectives.

We have first a brief sketch of his life and then a series of chapters on his living thoughts. His religion naturally comes first for without it we probably should not have heard much of him. There follows his

ideas on freedom, on the building of a state, on dealing with the Indians, and on the righteous governance of the world society.

The work is made richer by the reprinting of Penn's great tracts, *Some Fruits of Solitude* and *More Fruits of Solitude*, and the inclusion of a brief but excellent bibliography.

To meet William Penn through the pages of this book, either casually by a hasty glance or completely by careful study, will mean that William Penn will be remembered. It will be a callous reader indeed who does not go away from the meeting with a sense of the great power for spiritual progress which is generated in society when genuine religious faith stirs the conscience of man to work for the betterment of the world in which he lives. This dynamic combination may still be found, as Penn believed, "where there is the warmest Sense of Religion, where Devotion exceeds formality, [where] . . . Practice most corresponds with Profession, . . . where there is at least as much Charity as Zeal." For as Penn well knew in his day and we should know now "there shall we find the Church of God."

University of Pennsylvania. ROY F. NICHOLS

Israel Pemberton, King of the Quakers, by Theodore Thayer. Philadelphia. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943. 260 pp. $2.50.

THIS is an excellent account of Israel Pemberton's rôle in the economic and political life of Pennsylvania. After a short introductory chapter on Israel Pemberton's early years, the author gives an interesting picture of the commercial activities of the comparatively young Philadelphia Quaker merchant. This chapter is especially valuable for the insight which it gives into the transoceanic trade of Pennsylvania about the middle of the eighteenth century. It also shows the influence of their religious affiliations on the mercantile relations between many of the London and Philadelphia merchants who were members of the Society of Friends. At the same time the reader is conscious of the difficulty faced by these Quaker traders in squaring their conscience with their business practices in view of their religious profession.

Aside from two brief chapters on the social and civic activities of Israel Pemberton, the remainder of the book is largely devoted to his rôle in the political affairs of the province. The two most important questions which arose in the period between 1750 and 1765, and in whose decision Pemberton played an important part, were, first, the attitude to be taken by the Quakers toward participation in politics in view of the onrushing tide of war with the French and Indians, and secondly, what the provincial policy should be toward the Indians.

In the answer to the first question, Israel Pemberton's close friendship with Dr. Fothergill, the famous English Quaker, was an important factor. Through Fothergill he learned much of the attitude of the English

government and the English Friends toward the continuation of political activity by the Pennsylvania Quakers. When their English brethren pressed for the abstention of the Friends in Pennsylvania from politics in 1756, it was Israel Pemberton who coöperated in achieving a partial fulfilment of this request. In this way he helped to forestall threatened action against the Friends by the British government.

After having left the political arena himself, Pemberton turned to Indian affairs. Here provincial, proprietary, and Quaker interests became inextricably intertwined, with unfortunate effects for the Friends. A moving spirit in the founding of the "Friendly Association," Israel Pemberton tried to persuade the provincial government to compensate the Indians for past injuries and for a time was partially successful. The idea of a proclamation line barring settlers from Indian domains was strongly advocated by him. But frontier, trading, imperial, and proprietary interests together with the outburst of Pontiac's rebellion combined to defeat most of Pemberton's plans for fair and just treatment of the Indians. The Proclamation Line of 1763 was about the only idea that he backed which was finally adopted. One cannot escape the feeling that in the atmosphere of the time, it was impossible for the Quaker ideal in this respect to be achieved.

The book concludes with an account of Pemberton's experiences during the Revolution, dealing chiefly with his exile to Virginia and his death soon afterward.

Mr. Thayer's book is well documented and well written and makes a real contribution to the history of Pennsylvania for the time of which it treats. The outstanding shortcoming, however, is that it does not fulfil at all well one qualification of good biographical literature. There is little if any sense or inner development in the character under consideration. On finishing this book one feels that he has seen Israel Pemberton moving about in a multitude of activities of his time. That, however, is only the outer Pemberton which he has seen, and the inner Pemberton remains veiled. In other words, one has seen the outside man, but one does not come away with the feeling that he came to know another person.

William Penn College. ARTHUR J. MEKEEL

The Quakers, by Otto Zarek. Translated by E. W. Dickes. London. Andrew Dakers, Limited, 1943. 214 pp.

THIS little volume is written by a German non-Quaker in England, who already has over a dozen volumes of history, biography, fiction, and drama to his credit. It offers a readable and convenient narrative of the main currents of Quakerism from Fox to the present time. As is almost inevitable in such a rapidly moving account by one who has had only a short time to acquaint himself with a large field, there are some inaccuracies in detail. Moreover, the author has not had occasion to read

very widely off the beaten track of the chief historical figures. Nevertheless, the book gives a useful and clear account of the development of the Society of Friends, of its problems in England and America, and of the influence exerted upon it by Quietism, Methodism, Evangelicalism, Mysticism, and Rationalism. Its brevity will in these days recommend it to those who seek much information in little space.

Haverford College. WILLIAM W. COMFORT

A Bibliography of the Published Writings of Rufus M. Jones. Compiled by Nixon Orwin Rush. Waterville, Maine. Colby College Library, 1944. 54 pp. $2.75.

NOT only has Mr. Rush given us an accurate and complete bibliography of the writings of Rufus Jones, together with an appropriate foreword and a well-selected brief outline of Dr. Jones's life, but this little book represents the summing up of one of the most remarkable literary careers of American men of letters. Unless one has seen the ever-expanding "yardage" of Dr. Jones's works, and judged them by the tests of the soul and learned to know their high quality, it is difficult to realize that any one man could have done so much in a lifetime—and there are still more to come. Scholarly and accurate, yet lucid and with deep insight for truth, Dr. Jones's many, many articles in periodicals and his numerous books have exerted an influence that can not be measured, not only among Friends, but in the far reaches of the world. I remember one little library in Germany that had but a score of books in English, yet three of them were by Rufus Jones. Translated into many languages, republished in many places, and known by the great and the simple alike, these writings represent a world-pulpit of real proportions—and his words are believed, and his counsels heeded! Having had as my hobby for many years the collection of his works, and having often believed that even Rufus Jones himself has forgotten some of his writings because they are so many and have appeared in so many places, I can realize what a splendid service Mr. Rush has rendered and what a fine piece of work this bibliography represents. I do not know Mr. Rush, but I believe that this little book is a service of admiration and love; else it could not have been so well done.

One use of this bibliography may escape those who use it as a library guide, for research, or for their amazement because of its scope; to follow it through would be an education in the spirit. Great literature grows out of the life of great men, but these books are the literature of a great spirit, meeting the problems of the soul—and sometimes they were hard problems, but with an expanding faith that makes each dawn the beginning of a better day. This bibliography is the record of the crystallization in words of such a life.

Cynwyd, Pennsylvania. CLARENCE E. TOBIAS, JR.

Quaker Torch Bearers. Philadelphia. Published by Friends General Conference, 1943. 217 pp. $1.00.

THIS little book contains biographical sketches of fifteen American Friends whose dedicated lives and constructive efforts have made a permanent contribution to Quaker history. In the Introduction the hope is expressed that in further publications the list may be extended to include other well-known Friends. While the sketches are intended as inspirational reading for boys and girls of high-school age, older readers will find the assembled information both useful and interesting. Eleven different authors have written these sketches, which are divided into four groups or classifications. The "Modern Quakers" are Jesse H. Holmes and William I. Hull; "Quakers of the Olden Time," John Woolman, Elias Hicks, Isaac T. Hopper, and Lucretia Mott; the "Teachers" are Benjamin Hallowell, Martha Schofield, Elizabeth Powell Bond, and Joseph S. Walton; and "Pilots Into New Channels," Jane Johnson, Anna T. Jeanes, Jonathan W. Plummer, Howard M. Jenkins, and Henry W. Wilbur.

Haverford College. ANNA B. HEWITT

Three Wars With Germany, by Admiral Sir W. Reginald Hall and Amos J. Peaslee. Edited and illustrated by Joseph P. Sims. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944. Pp. xvii, 309. $3.00.

THIS book is chiefly compiled from extracts from the letters exchanged between Admiral Hall and Amos Peaslee. There is some account of their activities in World War I, before their paths had crossed. There are a good many extracts from their comments about World War II. In his comments Amos Peaslee shows not a trace of his Quaker heritage or attitude. The central portion of the book is made up from their letters during the seventeen years of the Black Tom Case. Peaslee represented the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the Canadian Car and Foundry Company in the eventually successful effort to prove official German responsibility for the Black Tom and Kingland explosions, before the United States entered World War I. Admiral Hall, as former chief of British Naval Intelligence, was consulted. The two men became warm friends.

The Editor suggests that the purpose of publishing the book now is to help prevent a third war with Germany. The conclusion of the writers is that Germans can be neither trusted nor reformed; they must be governed by someone else. Both accept uncritically the unhistorical assumption that Germany was solely responsible for World War I. One wonders whether their prescription for the cure of war in Europe is any better than their diagnosis of its cause.

Philadelphia, Pa. RICHARD R. WOOD

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Hugh H. Chapman, Jr., Cottage No. 1, Philadelphia State Hospital, Philadelphia 14, Pennsylvania. *Friends' Concern for the Mentally Ill.* (A study of the efforts made by English and American Friends to improve the treatment of those who are mentally ill.) Research commenced.

Margaret Lownes Conover, 227 Leamy Avenue, Springfield, Pennsylvania. *History of Springfield Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.* (The story of this Quaker community from 1682-1850.) University of Pennsylvania; Education, thesis for M.S. 1944. Manuscript completed.

Anne Janney De Armond, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. *Andrew Bradford and the Periodical Literature of His Time.* (Biographical study of Bradford, plus a discussion of *The American Weekly Mercury* and *The American Magazine* and their relation to other newspapers and magazines of the same period.) University of Pennsylvania; English, thesis for Ph.D. Part of the material on Bradford was published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 52 (1938), 463-87.

Cora Dolbee, 1301 Rhode Island Street, Lawrence, Kansas. *Kansas and "The Prairied West" of John G. Whittier.* (This study reviews Whittier's long interest in the Kansas area, from the early 1820's to 1892, and the use made of his poems by this area after its territorial organization in 1854.) Manuscript completed.

Oliver S. Heckman, 3105 Chestnut Street, Camp Hill, Pennsylvania. *Northern Church Penetration of the South, 1860-1885.* (One chapter devoted to the Quaker aspect.) Duke University; History, thesis for Ph.D. 1939. Manuscript completed.

Geoffrey Fillingham Nuttall, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29, England. (1) *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience.* (The centrality of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as a vantage ground for surveying Puritanism and Quakerism.) Oxford University; D.D.

Research commenced. (2) *Early Quaker Letters, 1650-1660.* (Calendar of letters among Swarthmore MSS. for these years, giving pertinent data and extracts of interest.)

Milo A. Rediger, Taylor University, Upland, Indiana. *An Interpretation of the Philosophy of Rufus M. Jones.* (With special reference to education.) New York University; Education, thesis for Ph.D. Outline completed and writing commenced.

Joan Sangree, 702 Pennstone Road, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. *Social Mysticism in the Philosophies of Bergson, Royce, and the Quakers.* (A religious social theory.) Harvard; Philosophy, A.B. 1944. Completed.

Arthur E. Wilson, 15 Moses Brown Street, Providence, Rhode Island. *Paddy Wilson's Meeting House.* (A history of religion in Providence, Rhode Island, 1700-1840.) First draft of manuscript completed.

Arthur L. Wormhoud (in service overseas). *William Law and Jacob Boehme.* (A survey of Law's works showing wherein lies his debt to Boehme.) Iowa State University; English, thesis for Ph.D. 1943.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

IN connection with the recent meeting of Friends Historical Association at John Bartram's Garden a group of items about the Bartrams is given here at the beginning. Items on William Penn will be similarly listed together in a future issue of the Bulletin.

THE Philadelphia Botanical Club published in 1931 "An Account of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Botanic Garden in the American Colonies" (68 pages). For earlier literature, its extensive bibliography should be noted (pp. 51-67).

H. S. TILLOTSON has an illustrated article in *American Forests,* vol. 49 (1943), pp. 78-9, on "John Bartram and His Trees, Glimpse into the Oldest Botanic Garden in America."

"JOHN BARTRAM, Pioneer of Botanical Exploration," in the *Garden Chronicle* (London), vol. 91 (1932), pp. 182-83, deals apropos of the bicentennial with John Bartram as the "most active instrument" in introducing American plants into England, chiefly through his Quaker correspondent and patron, Peter Collinson. Philip Miller, the horticultural lexicographer, and the herbarium at the British Museum, were other British beneficiaries of the older Bartram's labors.

NATURE MAGAZINE for February, 1937 (vol. 29, p. 71), has a brief article by H. Zahniser entitled, "In February, William Bartram."

IN the *Scientific Monthly,* vol 48 (1939), pp. 380-84, Francis Harper has an article on William Bartram's Bicentennial, illustrated, with a portrait.

A BRIEF description of the famous Bartram discovery and of its hardy character is given by Ben Blackburn in an article in *The Flower Grower*, vol. 30 (1943), p. 429, entitled, "Plant for Permanence . . . Franklinia."

THE disappearance of Bartram's much admired plant from its native habitat is perhaps due to the commercial greed of the other Quaker botanists, Humphry and Moses Marshall. At any rate, Moses was the last to see it on the Altamaha on his visit in 1790. This, with other causes of the extinction of such plants, was made the text of an article in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, vol. 226 (1938), pp. 383-96, by M. L. Fernald, entitled, "Must All Rare Plants Suffer the Fate of Franklinia?"

A POPULAR modern edition, called Facsimile Library, includes the *Travels of William Bartram* (Barnes & Noble, New York, 1940, 414 pages). It is edited by Mark Van Doren and is supplied with an index. John Livingston Lowes writes a brief introduction.

THE text, with much local illustration, of John Bartram's *Observations in his Travels from Pennsylvania to . . Lake Ontario, 1743*, was printed in ten weekly instalments in *Now and Then*, at that period a department in the *Sun*, of Muncy, Pa., vol. V, Nos. 26-37, Nov. 2, 1934, to January 4, 1935. The comments appear to have been supplied by the editor, T. Kenneth Wood.

"FRANKLIN'S TREE" is the title of an article by Charles F. Jenkins in the *National Horticultural Magazine*, vol. 22 (1943), pp. 119-27. Revising what he wrote on the "Historical Background of Franklin's Tree" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, the modern Quaker horticulturalist here offers a very full and beautifully illustrated account of the Franklinia Alatamaha, of its probable discovery and early dissemination, and of its elusiveness in more recent years to repeated botanical explorers.

MARY F. GOODWIN, writing on "Three Eighteenth-Century Gardens," in the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 10 (1934), pp. 218-33, deals with John Bartram, Peter Collinson, and Colonel John Custis. The first two are well known as Quakers. Custis lived at Williamsburg, Virginia, and corresponded with the other two. He died in 1749.

HARRY S. TILLOTSON has an illustrated article on Bartram's Garden in *The Flower Grower*, vol. 30 (1943), pp. 359-60.

AUBREY L. STEELE published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 17 (1939), pp. 364-92, an article on "The Beginning of the Quaker Administration of Indian Affairs in Oklahoma." This is followed now by another article by the same author in the same periodical, vol. 22 (1944), pp. 83-98. Discussing "Laurie Tatum's Indian Policy," he claims

to show how the pacifist policy of the Quakers, Tatum (1869-73) and his successor, J. M. Haworth (1873-78), in charge of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, failed, and peace was brought only by war and military force.

THE importance for early Quakerism of the preceding Digger and Leveller movements justifies calling attention to two important collections making available in reprints tracts rare or accessible only with difficulty. One is *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley with an appendix of documents relating to the Digger Movement*, edited by George H. Sabine (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1941, 686 pages). The other is *The Leveller Tracts, 1647-1653*, edited by William Haller and Godfrey Davies (Columbia University Press, New York, 1944, 487 pages). Also a volume of *Selections from the Works of Gerrard Winstanley* has just been issued in England, edited by L. Hamilton (Cresset Press, London, 1944, 196 pp.).

THE Old York Road Historical Society Bulletin, vol. 8 (1943), has two articles on Quaker schools in the area with which the society deals. One is on "Chelten Hills School," long taught by members of the Heacock family until it was discontinued in 1912. This is written by Horace Mather Lippincott. The other article, contributed by Arthur H. Jenkins, is on the "Abington Friends School," founded perhaps as early as 1702.

QUAKERISM IN JAPAN, published by the Friends World Committee for Consultation (Philadelphia, 46 pages), is a new pamphlet in a series previously mentioned in the BULLETIN, vol. 33, p. 37. Edith F. Sharpless was well qualified to be the writer and has succeeded in providing a comprehensive but brief account of the origins and development of the Religious Society of Friends in Japan from the beginning in 1885 under the Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia, to the merging of Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends in the union called the Church of Christ in Japan and the more recent evacuation of the author and the other remaining American Friends.

A WOMAN IN STEEL—Rebecca Lukens (1794-1854), by Robert W. Wolcott, an address to the Newcomen Society in 1940, forms an attractive illustrated booklet about the early days of the Lukens Steel Company, of Coatesville, Pennsylvania, of which the author is president. Rebecca Lukens was head from 1823 until 1847, following her husband Charles Lukens, and her father Isaac Pennock, and the partner of the last named, Jesse Kersey. All these, together with the Hustons who followed her, were Friends.

AMERICANS IN ENGLAND, by R. B. Mowat (Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1935), is a study of American visitors from the earliest times until the more recent period, and could have used many other Quaker diaries than those employed. The Friends whose experiences are here retold are John Woolman (pp. 37-41) and Benjamin West (pp. 73-82).

CHRISTENDOM has been publishing a series of papers prepared by the American Theological Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order, including the replies to a questionnaire on "The Church" by several of the committee's members, indicating the views of their own special denomination. The Quaker view, written by Henry J. Cadbury, is published in vol. 9 (1944), pp. 559-65 (the questions on pp. 268-69).

IN "The Christian Heritage of Nonresistance," D. Elton Trueblood discusses and compares the two chief historical sources of the nonresistant tradition in modern western Christianity, the second of which is the Quaker movement. The article was published in *Religion in Life*, vol. 13 (1944), pp. 409-17.

"THE Underground Railroad and the Missouri Border, 1840-1860," by Benjamin G. Merkel, in the *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 37 (1943), pp. 271-86, includes references to the assistance of the Quaker communities in Iowa at Denmark and Salem.

"WALTER BAREFOOTE," a surgeon and ex-captain who lived in Maine or New Hampshire for at least thirty years before his death in 1688, is the subject of a detailed biographical study by Charles I. Pettingell in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 95 (1941), pp. 213-34. He was not a Friend and there is much about his known career that is to his discredit, but it was he who befriended the Quaker women who were sentenced by Richard Waldron to whipping at the cart's tail in eleven towns from Dover, New Hampshire, to Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1662. The incident is described in Whittier's poem, "How the Women Went from Dover." In the poem, however, the man who intervened and by a ruse shipped them back to the shelter of Nicholas Shapleigh, a Quaker of Kittery, is identified with Major Robert Pike instead of with Barefoote.

THE Peace Committee of Evanston Meeting of Friends published in 1942 an attractively printed sixteen-page pamphlet giving "The Quaker Peace Testimony, condensed from original statements" of 1660, 1677, 1679, and 1755. The cover title is *War and the Early Friends.*

DOUGLAS V. STEERE has written on "A Religious Minority in Action" (pp. 97-117), in the composite volume edited by Robert M. MacIver, entitled *Group Relations and Group Antagonisms* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1944). The book consists of addresses and discussions on minority groups held at the Institute for Religious Studies in 1942-43. Dr. Steere in a fresh way describes the Society of Friends so as to bring out those features which illustrate the characteristics of all minorities, especially the advantageous ones, and, on the other side, the "occupational diseases" that minorities suffer from.

THE twenty-six sonnets by Kenneth Boulding on Nayler's dying (?) words (see BULLETIN, vol. 33, p. 47) are printed in *Inward Light* (New York, No. 19, Spring issue, 1944).

THE Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West New Jersey, 1680-1709, edited by H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller (American Historical Association, Washington, 1944, lv+372 pages), is the complete transcript of thirty years' proceedings in the Court. It is introduced by a long and careful analysis of the complicated history of the government of the province during the period. As the subtitle suggests, the officers of the court, the sheriffs, and the juries were largely Quaker during the period, as were the citizens and proprietors. However, among the litigants they are not conspicuous, probably settling their affairs generally out of court. The book gives a clear picture of the procedure and penalties of a Quaker colony in the early days. With the help of meeting records the persons who were Friends have been so identified in the full index.

THE volume, *Records of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684-1700*, is a companion to the above from across the river (Meadville, 1943, 446 pages). It is less fully edited. Friends again are rarely litigants, but they are witnesses or officials, and except for a period from 1693-95 the Clerk of the county was the well-known Quaker, Phineas Pemberton. The volume is therefore largely a transcript of his records. It is published by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, which had earlier published the court records for Chester County (1681-97) and, in two volumes, for New Castle on Delaware (1676-81, 1681-99).

JAMES LOGAN, the honorable and learned Quaker of Philadelphia, prepared about 1734 a translation of Cicero's *Cato Major, or his Discourse of Old Age*, and in 1744 Franklin published it in what for his time was a de luxe edition. This early bit of choice bookmaking was also one of the earliest English translations of the classics published in America. Franklin and Logan had similarly produced Cato's *Moral Distichs* in 1735, and Keimer, also in Philadelphia, published in 1729 an English translation of Epictetus. In a kind of bicentenary article entitled "Franklin's 'Cato Major,' 1744," Paul McPharlin deals with this landmark in bookmaking in *The Publishers Weekly*, vol. 144 (1943), pp. 2111-18 (illustrated).

UNDER the title "English Quakers Tour Kansas in 1858," Sheldon Jackson presents in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 13 (1944), pp. 36-52, with introduction and notes, Sarah Lindsey's Journal of the five weeks' visit which she and her husband Robert Lindsey (1801-63) paid to some two hundred Friends then settled in the Territory. The text is derived from the copy at Haverford of the original diary at Friends Reference Library, London.

DUTCH Emigration to North America, 1624-1860: A Short History, by Bertus Harry Wabeke (New York, 1944, 160 pages), is No. 10 in the series of booklets of the Netherlands Information Bureau. As was to be expected, the main emphasis is laid on the activities fostered by the West India Company in New Netherlands until the English conquest in 1664, and on the Dutch settlements in Iowa and Michigan, in the 1840's. Even these have their contacts with American Quakerism, but the principal Quaker interest is in the adequate but condensed account of the Dutch Quaker migration to Pennsylvania in 1683-90 (pp. 61-67). The book is well written and is illustrated. It has no index but a full bibliography. The young author is himself an American citizen and a Friend, though born in Pretoria and educated in Holland.

A PAPER on "Friends in Sandwich" (New Hampshire) prepared by John B. Hoag and read at the celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the erection of the first Friends' Meeting House at North Sandwich, N. H., Aug. 27, 1939, is printed in the *Twenty-third Annual Excursion of the Sandwich Historical Society* (1942, pp. 3-9). The meeting's records in the Wentworth Library at Center Sandwich were used with other sources to compile a brief but interesting account. Three houses were built in succession; the second was burned down on Nov. 14, 1863, as a protest against the antislavery and antiwar meetings held there. This meeting continued from 1783 until 1884. A North Meeting was organized in 1802 and outlived its parent meeting. Its first house (1808-84) was replaced by a second, which is still standing and still in use.

THE HIBBERT JOURNAL, vol. 42 (1943-44), pp. 353-58, contains an article by Ernest C. Cripps on "William Allen, Quaker, Humanitarian, Scientist," apparently prompted by the fact that he died in 1843. The three aspects of his personality mentioned are described, as well as his business success. He moved with some of the great ones of the earth. We are reminded that the Emperor of Russia offered him the lucrative appointment of supplier of drugs to the Russian Army. As a Quaker, he refused, gratefully but firmly. On another occasion when Allen presented a plea on behalf of Friends in England for those who suffered for their pacifist principles in Germany, the King of Prussia curtly replied that "war was necessary to procure peace."

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